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International socialism as
a political force

Girard, Kan.

1908

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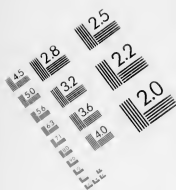
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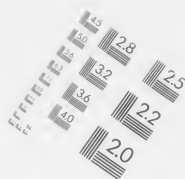
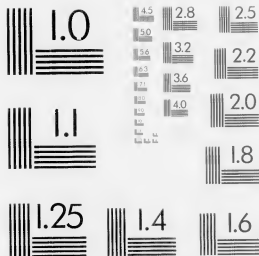
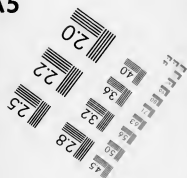
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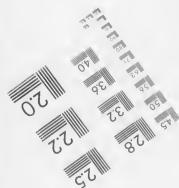


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BY GEORGE ALLAN ENGLAND.



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JOHN DOE, OF ANYTOWN

BY W. S. BRADFORD.

International Socialism as a Political Force.

GEORGE ALLAN ENGLAND, BRYANT'S POND, MAINE.

Forword by the Editor of the "Review of Reviews," in the May, 1908, issue.

"It is the aim of the following article to state the essential facts regarding a world movement of which Americans generally have a very imperfect knowledge. It is not to be expected that all the statements made by this writer, whose attitude is sympathetic, will be accepted without question. Yet this seems the fairest method of presenting the claims of Socialism as they are advocated throughout the modern world. This article indicates very clearly the measure of success, which the Socialists then selves believe they have already attained."

Remark by the Editor of the "Appeal to Reason."

While it is beyond our expectation that capitalist editors and advocates should accept the statements, yet we make bold to assert that every fact herein set forth has been stated only after careful investigation and research, and that every such fact can readily be verified by recourse to the original sources of information whence Mr. England took them. Mr. England's attitude is naturally "sympathetic," we admit, for the reason that Mr. England is a member of the Socialist party; but that this sympathy has induced any exaggeration of his claims for Socialism we emphatically deny. He has, if anything, understated the case. The actual tangible matters of statistics, votes etc., do not by any means indicate the true extent of Socialist activity and power in the world today. Could all these other factors be brought definitely to light, we guarantee that our good capitalist editors and apologists would very quickly draw in their horns and set up another song. Socialism is here today as a concrete, undeniable fact; it is here to stay; it is here to win. And shutting one's eyes to those facts will never retard its progress by the breadth of a single hair.—Fred D. Warren.

EVERYBODY knows today, in a more or less general manner, that a great new force has dawned in modern politics and industry. Some of us are allied with that force, see it from the inside, as it were, and understand its workings because we are, ourselves, part of them. Many others still remain outside, some indifferent, some hostile. To these—and more particularly to the hostile ones—this short and necessarily incomplete statement addresses itself. For in a great majority of cases, be the matter what it may, hostility arises from imperfect understanding.

Few tasks are more puzzling than to determine the precise extent of Socialist institutions, their content of progress, their tendencies today. For Socialism is in no sense a fixed, motionless entity which may be ticketed and laid by for future reference. It is a flux, a flow—a movement, not an institution. Statistics of a year or two past cease to be reliable. On revising them, one usually

*Reprint from the "American Review of Reviews," May, 1908. Copyright, 1908, by Review of Reviews Co.

Wayland's Monthly.

finds that they have grown like Jonah's gourd. All of which proves disconcerting to tabulators of the Dryasdust variety. Perhaps the most that can be done is to get approximations, general ideas of what the movement has attained and what it promises. And in describing even these, the investigator knows that before his conclusions find the printed page, Socialism itself will have advanced beyond the limits he has fixed for it.

About its origins, at least, one finds a fair degree of definition. Most students are agreed that modern scientific Socialism (as opposed to the very numerous earlier Utopian precursors, ungrounded in the laws of social evolution) was born at the time when chattel slavery had just disappeared from the United States and when serfdom had but newly been abolished in Russia—in 1864, a memorable date in labor-history. For on September 28th of that year was formed in St. Martin's Hall, London, the International Workingmen's Association, or as it soon came to be popularly known, "The International."

Sixteen years had passed since the publication of Marx and Engels' "Communist Manifesto," yet in all that time little perceptible progress had been made toward any definite program for the emancipation of the proletariat. Only a handful of men were gathered at St. Martin's, and in the stress and turmoil of those days the formation of the little society with the big name caused hardly a ripple on the troubled surface of the world-waters. Yet there, at that very time and place, was born the movement which through such various changes has come to be many times over the largest political party in the world—the International Socialist Party.*

The little association issued a declaration of principles which has formed the keel and ribs of practically every Socialist platform from that day to this. It was written by Karl Marx. Terse, vigorous and clear-spoken, it is worthy of a reading by every seeker after knowledge of what Socialism really means. And here it is:

In consideration of the fact that the emancipation of the working class must be accomplished by the working class itself, that the struggle for this emancipation . . . does not signify a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties and for the abolition of class rule;

That the economic dependence of the workingman upon the

*Some regard Lassalle's Universal Workmen's Association, founded at Leipzig, May 28, 1863, as a more apparent origin, but this is a point still open to question.

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owner of the tools of production, the sources of life, forms the basis of every kind of servitude, of social misery, of spiritual degradation and political dependence;

That therefore the economic emancipation of the working class is the great end to which every political movement must be subordinated as a simple auxiliary;

That all exertions which up to this time have been directed toward the attainment of this end have failed on account of the want of solidarity between the various branches of labor in every land and by reason of the absence of a brotherly bond of unity between the working classes of different countries;

That the emancipation of labor is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, which embraces all countries in which modern society exists, and whose solution depends upon the practical and theoretical co-operation of the most advanced countries. . . .

The first International Labor Congress declares that the International Workingmen's Association and all societies and individuals belonging to it recognize truth, right and morality as the basis of their conduct toward one another and their fellowmen, without respect to color, creed or nationality. This congress regards it as the duty of man to demand the rights of a man and citizens, not only for himself, but for everyone who does his duty. No rights without duties; no duties without rights.

This summons met with an astonishing response. Inside of two years "The International" had become a veritable bogey to the monarchs of Europe. Its strength was tremendously exaggerated. It was denounced as a gigantic conspiratory band, and still figures as such in penny-dreadfuls, though as a matter of fact it never was terroristic in its methods.

Various meetings were held in Geneva, Lausanne, Brussels, Basel and The Hague—this last in 1872. Here Bakounin and the anarchists threatened to capture the organization, which had in self-defense to remove its headquarters and general council to New York. The European branch languished, after two or three ineffectual struggles to maintain itself. A miscellaneous gathering at Ghent in 1877 terminated its career in the old country. Neither did the body flourish in America. Here its last nominal convention was held in Philadelphia, 1876—a mere pitiful shadow. Only ten delegates were present, and nine of these were from the United States. Exit "The International." It has now been extinct for more than a generation.

Yet as one International was passing away, the ground was being laid for a new and infinitely more powerful one. The first International was a ruling body proceeding from a common center and organizing and directing the national bodies. Its function was

to carry the gospel of brotherhood across national lines, to sow the seed of revolution within the various nations.

It had done this work, and in Germany and a few other countries there had begun the formation of powerful national Socialist parties maintaining the principles of the International. Soon these parties began to stretch across national boundary lines, to form the new International.*

LATER GROWTH—CONGRESSES.

This regenerated body was not arbitrarily constructed by a number of men coming together for that purpose. On the contrary, it evolved from the expansion of the various national Socialist parties which were now taking form. Instead of radiating, it converged. And of this same convergent character, only enlarged and perfected and growing in influence with a rapidity hitherto unheard of, is the present International Socialist Party.

Since 1889, when the first congress of this party was held at Paris, similar bodies have convened every three or four years. The second congress took place at Brussels in 1891. Thereafter followed meetings at Zurich, 1893; London, 1896; Paris, 1900; Amsterdam, 1904; Stuttgart, 1907. At the Paris convention a permanent bureau was established to sit at Brussels for the purpose of unifying and co-ordinating the activities of the various national parties.

This bureau furnishes the machinery for concerted, uninterrupted work. It has a secretary and other officers, beside the delegates, two of whom are appointed from each of the following countries: England, Germany, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Austria, Denmark, Bohemia, Spain, United States, Holland, Finland, Norway, Bulgaria, France, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Poland, Serbia, Switzerland, Russia, Sweden and Portugal.

No governing or controlling power is vested in its structure. On the contrary, it is quite powerless over the national organizations. It is simply a body created by them to do the common work. As this work grows in magnitude and enters new fields, the activities of the bureau likewise expand. Already Brussels has become the world-center of Socialist information, with a magnificent Socialist library, files of periodicals and the like.

Through the mediumship of the bureau, concerted and simultaneous action has become possible on any matter affecting the well-being of Labor. In time of war, for instance, the bureau has already

*Chicago Daily Socialist, July 22, 1907.

put a damper on hostilities by proclaiming the identity of interests between the working classes of the country involved. Once this work can be thoroughly completed, war will end; for without the proletariat to fight, war is a physical impossibility. This is antimilitarism—the thing which ranks on a par with Social Democracy itself in Kaiser Wilhelm's denunciation as an "international pest."

From the viewpoint of royalty, the activities of the bureau are without doubt very troublesome. At the time of the Algieras affair the Kaiser was summarily plucked back from what might have been a decidedly glorious and successful war with France, by the stand taken at Brussels—the threat of a general strike if hostilities began—and the war talk had to be dropped like a hot potato. Norway and Sweden effected their recent separation without bloodshed through the intervention of Brussels, "*cette main de fer dans un pant de velours*." And when the Czar begged men and money from his cousins of Germany and Austria to crush revolution within his borders he ran fair into an effective, organized opposition from Brussels which effectually cooled the good offices of his allies. That argument of the *Massenstreik* simultaneously proclaimed all over Europe is singularly deterrent to the brass-button activities of the captains and the kings.

Again, it was through the International Bureau that the "Bloody Sunday" celebrations were organized, which brought together millions of workers, speaking many tongues, in protest against Russian autocracy. The bureau has constituted the medium through which hundreds of thousands of dollars have been collected for the Russian revolution.

Thus one finds no difficulty in perceiving something, at least, of the influence for international peace wielded by the Brussels Socialist bureau, and by the tri-yearly congresses which it summons. While the action of neither the bureau nor the congresses can have any binding effect upon any national party, yet the moral influence exerted is so tremendous that it carries irresistible weight. The unification of certain hitherto warring factions in Russia, France, the United States and elsewhere has already been brought to pass since the last congress simply through the resolutions passed there. It is highly doubtful whether any other force could have welded these diverse elements.

No single body of men on this earth exerts a wider influence than the delegates at Brussels, representing as they do the millions

of Socialist workingmen and women all over the world. And at no time have they summoned a more powerful congress, with more far-reaching results, than last year at Stuttgart.

THE STUTTGART CONGRESS.

The Stuttgart congress of 1907 was by all odds the biggest object-lesson in the present strength of Socialism which has ever been given to an uneasy plutocracy. Something like a thousand delegates assembled, representing nearly every European state, Japan, South Africa, the Argentine, Australia, the United States and many other countries—close on to thirty in all.* These delegates, chosen and sent by the various national Socialist parties, met (as always) with a sole view in mind: the discussion of Socialist tactics and propaganda, and the formulation of the most effective program to forward the interests of the world's wealth-producers, the working class, the proletariat.

Like our own famous Continental Congress, it was a revolutionary body. The constituencies which it represented were all revolutionary. Unlike other congresses it was no junketing affair, no meeting for the interchange of ornate platitudes or for the affirmation of any "identity of interest" between Capital and Labor. The delegates wore no gold-lace or decorations from royalty. Many of them, on the contrary, were decidedly *personae non gratae* with their respective governments. Their program was big with the plans of a Social Democracy so vast that it outshadows any other idea or movement whatsoever recorded in history. National revolutions have been without number, but never until the rise of International Socialism has revolution assumed a universal character. Never before has a whole social class, irrespective of race, creed or color, united in the determination to throw off industrial and political servitude. Thus these congresses, which in a way sum up the forward movement of Socialism, embody "something new under the sun,"—the complete and permanent emancipation of Labor. Above all meetings of men which have ever yet assembled these Socialist congresses stand up, impressive with the forecasts and the assurances of a better era.

*The number of votes allotted to the different countries were: Germany, Austria-Bohemia, France, Great Britain, Russia, 20 each; Italy, 15; United States, 14; Belgium, 12; Denmark, Poland, Switzerland, 10 each; Unified Australia, Finland, Holland, Sweden, 8 each; Spain, Hungary, Norway, 6 each; South Africa, Argentine, Non-unified Austria, Bulgaria, Japan, Roumania, Serbia, 4 each; Luxemburg, 2.

PRACTICAL DETAILS.

Yet radical as these congresses are, they present small evidence of what (to some thinkers) is still connoted by the word "Revolution." The program of the Stuttgart assembly, for instance, contained only such innocuous features as a great public open-air meeting in the Volksfestplatz; a Sunday concert; a meeting of reporters and editors of Socialist papers to discuss improvement of their service; and, in various plenary sessions, the consideration of such topics as militarism and international conflicts; the relation of the Socialist parties and the trades unions; the questions of colonization, woman's suffrage, the immigration and emigration of working people.

The entire character of the discussion was constructive, for the betterment of the world's workers and, through them, of the world as a whole. It reaffirmed the fundamental Socialist determination to put an end to class rule, exploitation, poverty, crime and war; and to establish in their place actual democracy [political and economic]; collective ownership of the sources of the world's life; and lasting peace, through the abolition of capitalistic struggles for world markets. It reaffirmed the community of interests between the workers of all lands; it reaffirmed the right of men to live and think and work without paying tribute to the possessing but non-producing classes. And in all its reaffirmations, it had at its back the "Aye!" of thirty million human beings.

THE DRIVING POWER.

What, now, is the driving power back of these great congresses? What is the meaning of the movement, from a wide, non-partisan point of view? Where does the organized Socialist party stand today? Is it waxing or waning? What does it portend? Here are a few of the questions that occur to us in face of such a manifestation as the Stuttgart congress.

First of all, the fact should be made quite clear that the Socialist party is far-and-away the largest political unit, not only of today, but of any time. To the uninformed who conceive of Socialists as a rather obscure and fantastic sect of Utopians—of "dreamers"—the discovery must come as something of a shock that the world's Socialist vote now stands between 8,000,000 and 9,000,000, representing about 30,000,000 adult Socialists. This latter number includes, of course, women and disfranchised persons, who

in the Socialist concept of government, in the "state within a state" which Socialism is building up, enjoy equal rights with present voters. There is something peculiarly disconcerting to the present governments of, by and for plutocracy, in those 30,000,000 of "dreamers," all so active in propaganda, all so terribly in earnest—in that ever-widening acceptance of the visionary axiom that "without rights there should be no duties, without duties no rights."

In the second place, it should be definitely understood that the movement is already breaking into legislative bodies all over the civilized world, to an extent hardly realized by the casual critic. The United States is practically the only large country of modern type in which the party has no national representation—a state of affairs, be it said in passing, which will soon be remedied. According to the latest obtainable figures as given in Dr. Josiah Strong's "Social Progress," and revised by Mr. W. J. Ghent, the case stands as follows regarding increase, present vote, legislative representation and journalistic strength of Socialism:

Country	First Report, 1891	Vote	Latent Vote, 1900	Vote	Socialists in National Legislature	Socialist Journals
Argentina	1903	5,000*	1 in 120	2		
Austria	1895	20,000	1907	1,005,000	87 in 878	115
Australia	1901	340,000	23 in 75	3		
Belgium	1895	334,500	1901	500,000*	30 in 100	53
Bulgaria	1900	10,000*	0 in 150	9		
Canada	1905	2,807	0 in 214	1		
Denmark	1872	215	1906	76,612	24 in 114	24
Finland	1907	280,000	80 in 220	11		
France	1885	30,000	1909	1,120,000	115 in 554	25
Germany	1897	30,000	1907	3,251,000	43 in 397	159
Great Britain	1895	55,000	1906	342,190**	55 in 670	4
Holland	1905	65,743	6 in 100	12		
Italy	1893	20,000	1904	201,525	25 in 508	92
Luxemburg	1903	40,000	7 in 45	1		
Norway	1903	24,774	17 in 114	17		
Sweden	1905	30,000*	1 in 120	1		
Spain	1893	7,000	1907	0,000	0 in 431	12
Switzerland	1905	26,083	15 in 220	22		
United States	1888	2,064	1904	64,284*	2 in 167	5
TOTALS	1882-1910	5,822,370	1904	8,000,591	521 in 5,748	638

*Estimated.

**Estimate of the "Labour Leader." In regard to the French and English representation, the fact should be noted that the figures here given include a number of different factions, of more or less radicalism; all, however, imbued with the Socialist philosophy. In England it is impossible to determine precisely what part of the labor vote is purely Socialist, i. e., cast for the "Social Democratic Federation," since the Independent Labor party is not a Socialist body, though expressly social-

istic in principle, while the labor representative committee is "practically" socialistic, and the Fabian or Economic Socialists are elected as "Radicals." Including Socialist Labor party vote. These figures on representation refer to the second house in bicameral bodies.

It will be noticed that in this table Russia is omitted. Anything like an accurate statement of the Russian Socialist vote is hard to come at; but it must have been very large indeed to have seated 192 Socialists, Revolutionists and Members of the Group of Toil in the second Duma, out of 495 members. Conditions change so fast in Russia that statistics relative to them may just as well be kept out of the tabulation. By counting the Russian vote we should in all probability get a total of nine million or over for the world.

With universal suffrage in those countries where now the suffrage is limited, this vote would expand about one-third. In England, for example, the comparatively small vote is directly traceable to the restricted suffrage. Under a system like our own the vote would go to about 1,500,000. As an instance of the effect of granting the universal manhood suffrage we have the recent increase of the Socialist vote in Austria, where the figures in 1907 jumped from 780,000 to more than 1,000,000 out of a total of about 3,000,000 votes.

STEADY, PROGRESSIVE GROWTH.

Socialism presents few spectacular features in its development. There is nothing in it of the mushroom quality which distinguished our own single tax and populist movements with their sudden upspringing, their large vote immediately obtained, and their quick disintegration. The Socialist movement grows with comparative steadiness, and never on the whole loses any ground once gained. The mathematician would plot its curve as an ascending parabola; he would reckon it in the terms of a geometric progression. Thus the next five years are almost sure to witness a growth equal, perhaps, to that of the last twenty-five. Some very pretty charts can be traced by the studious-minded exhibiting the past increase from *nil* to the present stage; and from them conclusions can be drawn respecting the probable duration of capitalism.

Persecution has never had any other effect on the movement than immensely to stimulate its growth. Contemporary events in Russia only re-enforce the lessons that Bismarck had to learn in Germany and that France has witnessed since '71. The wiping out

of a whole generation of French Socialists resulted merely in mustering ten revolutionaries where one stood before. At the last German election all the powers of government boycott and coercion, of frantic appeals to "God and Fatherland," resulted in a gain of 8 per cent in the Socialist vote—a numerical increase of about 250,000 ballots.

In England, right in the teeth of the combined liberal and conservative opposition, the Socialists are gaining, gaining, gaining. Trades unionism there, as in America, is rapidly swinging into line with out-and-out socialistic demands. Victor Grayson's entry into the House of Commons as the first Socialist to be elected without the help of any other party augurs for the immediate future a large increase of Socialist members in the house. Jamaica now has a Socialist governor in the person of Sydney Olivier, who for over twenty-five years has been a Fabian. Bavaria was swept by Socialism at the last election—twenty-one seats were gained in addition to the twelve already held. The Finnish diet recently had to admit eighty Socialists, ten of whom were women. Space lacks here for the whole story. Even in its fragmentary form it is tremendously portentous of the new era which is already opening to our eyes.

Here in America the movement has expanded with phenomenal rapidity. The vote, beginning with hardly more than 2,000 in 1888, had by 1900 risen to nearly 100,000. In 1902 it was 229,762. In 1904 over 400,000 votes were counted; probably twice as many were cast. Prophecy is dangerous, but 1908 should for many reasons hold in store a great surprise for the old-party politicians. From now on there is "a new Richmond in the field."

On all hands even the enemies of Socialism are admitting its rapid growth. In the "Arena" for January, 1907, Frank Parsons, Ph. D., himself an opponent of Socialism, describes the world progress of the party that stands for the interests of the workers, the "disinherited nine-tenths." Says he:

There has been a most remarkable growth in the numbers and powers of those who declare themselves adherents to the Socialist program. In Germany, the ratio of the Socialist vote has increased tenfold in thirty years, rising from one-thirtieth to one-third of the total vote of the empire. In Belgium, France, Switzerland and England also, the Socialists have made astonishing progress; and even in the United States they have made large gains. . . . Our literature is full to overflowing with Socialist sentiment. Our working classes are honey-combed with the propaganda of industrial de-

ocracy; and many of our most intelligent and far-sighted business men admit in private conversation, and some of them declare in public, that Socialism is coming.

THE INNER MEANING OF SOCIALISM.

Socialism is simply a reflex of capitalism. As capital polarizes at one extreme of the scale Socialism polarizes at the other. Socialism without a preliminary stage of capitalism is impossible; capitalism never exists for long in any country without producing Socialism. The rising capitalism of Japan has already given birth to a small but vigorous Socialist movement there. China is at this moment undergoing the birth pangs. Even in Turkey—most unlikely of places—an organization has just been started at Vana, among the workers in the silk mills. Socialism is the heir-apparent of capitalism, the next stage of development, the historical sequel of capitalistic production. The laws of social evolution work for it even more strongly than the class-conscious agitator. To deny its eventual triumph is to repudiate the teachings of evolutionary science.

It is based upon the simple axiom that the working class alone make the tools, the means of life; that the working class alone can use them; that the working class must, therefore, possess them. This is the essence of the Socialist philosophy. Its propaganda is orderly and peaceable. It is a revolution by the ballot—by the pamphlet, "the paper bullet of the brain," the careful and indefatigable organization of the proletariat. The civilized world today is full of Socialists, all in harmony as to the end in view—the Co-operative Commonwealth wherein all shall be dowered, through the very fact of birth, with the social guarantee of a share in the sources of life; wherein there shall be no more involuntary poverty, no submerged and disinherited class, no more wage slaves to serve a ruling, owning class of non-producers.

A DREAM?

Those who regard with indifference, with scorn perhaps, the struggle of the workers all over the world to emancipate themselves from political and industrial servitude; those who think the members of that class incapable of managing industry and government in their own interest; those who still in some manner look down upon the proletariat as by nature a race of inferiors, must

pause and reflect in face of such an organization as that of the Social Democracy.

For here in tangible form stands a body conceived, organized, brought into being not only through the workers' own unaided efforts, but also in despite of the most persistent, far-reaching and unscrupulous opposition that the world's ruling classes have been able to devise.

Socialism is not to be dismissed with a wave of the hand. Perpetually (not as with the old parties which agitate merely before election times) it is teaching, organizing, growing, carrying on its work. It is here today as the most portentous social phenomenon of our age—shall we not justly say, of any age? It is spreading faster than its historians can record the growth. And if it is (as its detractors still persist in calling it) a dream, remember that it is dreamed by the oppressed of all nations, and that "the dreams which nations dream, come true."

Note—Since the above was written, Socialist activity has been strongly stimulated in several countries. In Germany, the Prussian agitation for universal suffrage has set the movement forward at an unprecedented rate. The Prussian "Landtag," despite a grossly unjust electoral system, has been forced to admit seven Socialist members. In Finland, eight additional Socialists have been elected to the Diet, making a total of 88. Belgium has recently been undergoing a veritable Socialist upheaval, with tremendous gains in the vote. So, also for France, where more than half a dozen old conservative cities in Normandy (a royalist and clerical stronghold) have lately been captured by the Socialists. In the United States, a number of recent decisions of the supreme court, adverse to labor, have done more to arouse and unify the resistance of the working class and to direct it toward political action, than years of abstract agitation have accomplished. And in England, at the recent convention of the British labor party, unions with a membership of 600,000 have just formally endorsed the Socialist program. Many other gains, both in vote and representation, are constantly being reported all over the world.—G. A. B.

John Doe, of Anytown.

BY W. S. BRADFORD.

"There are a great many unemployed in the city."—From a letter written by James S. Bartle, general eastern freight agent Santa Fe Railway system, to F. H. Manter, assistant general freight agent at Chicago. (The letter from which this sentence is taken was furnished the Appeal by a Chicago friend into whose hands it fell unexpectedly.)

JOHN DOE was a quiet, hardworking man, one who listened to those above him and had all faith in God and mankind.

He was employed in one of the large manufacturing plants of Anytown, and from early morn till the evening whistle was at his post turning his mental and physical force into the product of the plant and at the weekly payday receiving his little stipend.

Married while young and at night gathering his family around him he was as happy as one so limited in this world's goods could be.

Being Christians and members of Rev. Ben E. Diction's church, the family attended services regularly and consistently followed the way as pointed out by their preceptor.

From his wages each week there was deposited with the Mechanics' Loan and Trust company the surplus which a frugal and saving wife was able to retain after the household expenses were paid.

The land was "blest with prosperity" and "times were good," so, as he worked he thought of the day when with the many years' savings and the kindness of God he might purchase a little home, one with a patch of lawn and shade trees in front and a little garden spot in the rear.

This was the dream of the family.

The republican party had impressed itself upon him; its leaders proclaiming prosperity through protection and other policies, he had seen and knew the proof from the full dinner pail to the overflow of the national treasury; he was satisfied the country was safe, and next summer his dream would come true.

Then the shock came. Upon the shop door was a paper, "Closed until further notice." A panic was on, but it was only "a little

flurry in Wall Street," "a few days and all would be well," so the newspapers told him.

Shop after shop closed down and idle men walked the streets. The president had denounced as traitors the people who withdrew their money from the banks and John Doe was no traitor, but tomorrow he must have a little money to pay the monthly bills.

That day the bank failed. Was John Doe a patriot?

Day after day he made the rounds of the city seeking for work; sometimes he got a job shoveling snow, but it was only a few hours work and a few cents pay.

Being an upright man he was able to borrow from his friends, until, conditions growing worse, his friends must keep their own. Then his church was appealed to and each week a small allowance of food was given him.

Tomorrow the unemployed were to march to the city hall and ask that employment be given them. He took his place in the line. Suddenly there was a charge by the police and the men were scattered like chaff, the leaders arrested. Mercilessly had the officers' clubs fallen upon the heads of these men and for four days John Doe lay in the city hospital, his head in bandages and his family in despair at his absence.

Industrial conditions steadily became worse, each day bringing new recruits to the army of unemployed.

A minister whom he asked for aid advised him to go to the country, assuring him that work could be found in the rural districts. As drowning men grasp at straws, so John Doe, tearfully bidding his family farewell, turned his back to the city.

Night found him near a large and cheerful looking farm house. He applied for work and was ordered off the place. Weak and weary, he trudged down the road in the darkness. At last he turned into a field and creeping under a strawstack spent the night, shivering with cold.

Aching and stiff with cold he dragged himself out and continued the journey, stopping at each farm. But there was no work, the army of unemployed had swept over the country before him.

Battling with winds and snow, like a drifting boat, he wandered on. Some chance at last led him from the main road and he obtained a job chopping cord wood. Two days he worked, then the exposure he had suffered took effect and he lay upon a bed of sick-

ness. Luckily these people were Samaritans, but when he was recovered the work was finished and he was forced upon the world again.

Grafton was a small city and hither he went. Pausing at the door of a church, the light shone on him and an instant later a policeman was leading him to the station where he was locked up, charged with a burglary committed a few days before. The evidence failing he was then charged with vagrancy and "sent up" for thirty days.

Here in prison he regained his strength and when freed a month later turned his face homeward. Two months had elapsed since leaving his family, during which time he had heard nothing from them.

The thought of home and family sent warm blood from his heart, and as he turned in Shumton street a song was on his lips. He stopped before his home. Like a man wounded he fell; the house was empty.

From a merchant across the way he learned the story. The landlord had thrown the family into the street for non-payment of rent, but kind-hearted neighbors had given them shelter. The daughter, Mary, a girl of sixteen, had answered a newspaper "ad," and as she had never returned it was supposed she had fallen a victim to the white slave dealers.

A few days later his wife had taken the baby and gone to the Benevolent Society for aid. A terrible snow-storm was raging and that night when the police found her in a drift she lay unconscious with her infant dead in her arms. She was taken to the station and thrown into a cell with the drunks; next morning the matron found her dead body.

"What is a man to do who is out of work in a financial crisis and starving?" Does God know?

**END OF
TITLE**